Lebanon / *cont. from p. 3*

lation of Beirut. Quantitatively, little is known about this period. The center of the city was destroyed and many people moved from southern Lebanon to other parts of the country. Overall, the country's population declined at an annual rate of 0.8 percent, while Greater Beirut grew at an annual rate of 2 percent during this interval. The problem lies in apportioning the population shifts among the city and suburban areas.

Using various sources, Weller places the 1975 population of Greater Beirut at 1,457,212. Based on an annual growth rate of 2 percent, the population of Greater Beirut was 1,673,878 in mid-1982.

Because of civil war, Weller hypothesizes an upper limit of 1 percent annual growth in the city's population. This would place the central city population at 628,927 in 1982. The suburban population then, would be 1,044,951.

However, Weller assumed more realistically that the city's population declined by 2 percent annually during the years from 1975 to 1982. This reduces the city's population estimate to 509,253 in 1982 or 17.2 percent of the country's total population. It also means that the suburban population grew by 4.2 percent annually to 1,164,625 or 39.4 percent of Lebanon's total population.

The estimated distributions by age and sex of the populations of the city, its suburbs, and Greater Beirut as a whole are shown in the tables on page 3. These tables were derived by assuming the same population proportions by age and sex among Greater Beirut, the city of Beirut, and the suburbs as occurred in 1970.

Weller also estimates the 1982 populations of other Lebanese urban centers — places with more than 20,000 people. He places the population of Tripoli at 198,076 persons; Sidon at 104,788; Zahle at 45,030; Journieh at 28,666; and Baalbek at 24,504.

The Palestinian Population

No one is sure how many Palestinians live in Lebanon because there is no system for counting them accurately. Palestinians may obtain Lebanese citizenship, but they may also be in camps, or simply considered aliens.

Weller accepts the 1978 judgement of Riad Tabbarah, a demographer, a Lebanese citizen, and then chief of the Population Division of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Western Asia, concerning the degree of underregistration of Palestinians. Updating Tabbarah's estimates, Weller estimates that there were 370,000 Palestinians in Lebanon in mid-1982, of whom about 191,000 lived in camps. They represent 12.5 percent of the total population of Lebanon. •

Robert H. Weller is a professor of sociology at the Florida State University Center for the Study of Population.

Markets on the Move

The time when it was enough to lump the world's nations into the two groups, "developing" and "developed" is long past.

Just as industrialization has created certain similarities among countries, its progression has also emphasized the differences.

To better understand the consumer market potential of countries that are in different stages of development, *International Demographics* clustered the 150 largest countries on the basis of their demographic characteristics.

As countries modernize, certain demographic trends usually accompany their progress. More people move into urban areas, and urban areas become more evenly distributed throughout the country. A larger proportion of children are enrolled in school and literacy rates rise. Women have fewer children and are more likely to participate in the labor force. Average household size shrinks. Life expectancy lengthens and infant mortality declines.

Using these demographic characteristics, *International Demographics* created five clusters that market researchers can use in making a first cut of countries with potential markets for their products.

Consumer-goods firms in the United States already use sophisticated clustering systems to find the neighborhoods where their products sell the best. They then determine what neighborhoods do not buy their products but fall into the same cluster, targeting potential markets.

Firms that want to enter or expand in the international consumer marketplace can use *International Demographics*' system to locate countries that may have been overlooked as potential markets. Firms already in international marketing can determine the countries in which they are already successful and do a more thorough evaluation of other countries that fall into the same cluster. Firms not already in foreign markets can target the country clusters in which their products might sell. The country clusters provide a way of taking a quick look at 150 countries and choosing the 8 or 10 that are worth a more thorough market research effort.

For example, if a firm already successfully sells juices in Peru, it might consider evaluating such markets as Portugal, Thailand, or the Philippines — all of which fall into the same cluster as Peru. It is through the more in-depth investigation that a company determines the import restrictions, foreign exchange problems, political stability, distribution channels, and so forth. But, a company that is successful in Peru might not have considered Turkey, Portugal, or Thailand if it had not checked the cluster pattern.

Or suppose that a firm is interested only in countries south of the U.S. border. The clusters suggest that Trinidad and Tobago, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama,

Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela have market potential.

To help users remember the clusters, we named them: The Dependents, The Seekers, The Climbers, Luxury and Leisure, and The Rocking Chairs.

The Dependents

In general, the countries with the least potential for consumer goods are The Dependents, 56 countries that include a quarter of the world's population. Of the 56, more than half are in Africa; about one-fifth are in Asia.

Women in The Dependents average seven or more children in their lifetimes; 100 in every 1,000 newborns die and life expectancy is only about 40 years. Growth in these countries is moderate, even though fertility is high, because so many infants die. Even though a few of these countries export oil or other precious minerals — Nigeria, Algeria, and Liberia are good examples — we call them The Dependents because they are not yet partners in the global marketplace.

The median age in these countries is now about 18 to 20 years. With some exceptions, such as India, women in these countries do not have access to education nor are they an integral part of the labor force except in rural areas where they work in agriculture. Not until the average number of children a woman has in her lifetime (total fertility rate) begins to decline will these countries be better markets.

Most of The Dependents have only one or two large cities, no medium-sized cities, and many small villages, but people flock to the cities looking for employment. Instead, they find hunger, poverty, poor or non-existent housing, pollution, crime, and no jobs.

In most of these countries, the middle class makes up a tiny percentage of the total population, but in some of them — India, for example — the sheer size of the population may make the 2 percent middle class an attractive market. In India a 2 percent market represents about 11 million people.

India now falls into The Dependents cluster, but if its fertility fell, it could quickly move into The Seekers category.

The Seekers

The Seekers includes 31 countries with a total population of nearly one half billion people or about 12 percent of the world's population. The countries are all located in Africa, the Mid-East or Asia.

Women in these countries commonly have five or six children in their lifetimes. Infant mortality rates are only half or three-quarters what they are in The Dependents, and because of this, women may be more willing to consider, at least, limiting their families. Despite slightly lower infant mortality rates, the median age continues to be in the teens or early twenties. Life expectancy is between 50 and 60 years of age in most cases. There is some recognition in many of these countries that women can be a productive part of the labor force and education is more available to them in this cluster.

Urbanization is more evenly distributed in these countries, and while they still have large cities that are growing quickly, the governments are attempting to increase agricultural production and encourage people to stay in rural areas.

Even though most of these countries have more young people than they can possibly accommodate, there is a recognition that education is important and some type of public education system exists.

The Climbers

There are 28 countries in the cluster named The Climbers, with a total population of 1.6 billion, or about 38 percent of the world's population. China is included in The Climbers and its huge population skews the percentage. Without China, about 525 million people are in this cluster, 11 percent of the world's population.

Women in these countries average three to five children in their lifetimes. They are more apt to participate in the non-agricultural labor force, and even when they are farm workers they take on more managerial responsibilities because their spouses are likely to be working in factories.

In these countries, young women are likely to have obtained at least a primary-school education. When examining literacy rates in this cluster, it is important to differentiate between the older population and the young. Getting ahead via an education is encouraged in these countries, and many of the governments pour money into schools and universities in an attempt to upgrade the labor force. The Climber countries are a primary source of foreign students for American colleges and universities.

Significant improvements in health care have taken place in The Climber countries in the last decade, and infant mortality rates are declining. These countries have large numbers of people who have finished school and are ready for entry-level jobs. These potential workers can create unrest if they cannot find jobs. This is one reason that the governments of these countries become protectionist, insisting that foreign firms build factories and employ natives if they are to have the opportunity for trade.

In many of these countries there are genuine efforts being made to redistribute the population away from one or two large cities and into other regions. This is done by encouraging investment in places outside the large metropolitan areas and providing incentives for families to live there. As a result, these countries have both modern cities with large middle classes and extreme poverty rooted in the most primitive forms of agri-

continued

Examples of Countries in Each Cluster

Dependents	*Seekers*	*Climbers*	*Luxury/Leisure*	*Rocking Chairs*
Bangladesh	Tunisia	Peru	United States	Sweden
Kenya	Indonesia	Turkey	France	Denmark
Nigeria	Egypt	Philippines	Hong Kong	United Kingdom
Bolivia	Paraguay	Mexico	Australia	West Germany
Mozambique	Burma	Venezuela	Ireland	

culture within 100 miles of each other.

Although many of The Climbers are small, they are important potential markets that should not be overlooked.

Luxury and Leisure

The Luxury and Leisure cluster is the one most familiar to United States and Western European firms because it is the one they live with every day. This cluster includes 33 countries with a total population of about 1 billion. It is about the same size as The Dependents cluster, but the Luxury and Leisure countries are growing slowly while The Dependents are growing more rapidly.

In these countries, women have two to three children in their lifetimes, and because they spend fewer of their adult years involved with child rearing, they are more likely to be educated and to participate in the labor force. The combination of smaller families and higher incomes resulting from families with two earners means that families have more money to spend on each person, so luxury purchases are common. Almost 100 percent of children in these countries attend school at least until they are 15 or 16 years old. College or some form of advanced vocational or technical training is the norm for children born in these countries today.

Luxury and Leisure countries all have a dominant middle class which brings political stability and creates a mass market for many items. The median age is around 30 years in this cluster, and there are many people at the ages of household formation.

The population is distributed evenly throughout the Luxury and Leisure countries. In many, there is a move back to small towns and rural areas and away from the congestion of the metropolis. Second homes are common as people who do live in highly urbanized areas seek their leisure in less developed areas.

The Rocking Chairs

The smallest country cluster is The Rocking Chairs. It contains only four countries, all of which are in Europe: Denmark, Sweden, United Kingdom, and West Germany. The Rocking Chairs have a population of 130 million, and 3 percent of the world's population. Their populations are actually declining. Other nations, such as Belgium, are headed for this cluster.

In the Rocking Chairs, women have fewer than two children each and couples are not even replacing themselves. That is why the populations have stopped growing. For some jobs, these countries are dependent on migrant labor. At the same time, because their native population is decreasing, they are reluctant to invite more foreigners across their borders for fear the foreigners will eventually change the nature of the culture.

Women are well integrated into these societies in every respect. Compulsory education is taken for granted as is some training beyond high school. Aging is a concern in these nations as the median age edges toward 40.

The population is evenly distributed and significant population shifts are unlikely except as people seek retirement homes. Health care and providing security in old age are an important part of overall planning in these countries.

In the aggregate the consumer markets with the best potential for growth in the next 5 to 20 years are The Climber and The Seeker countries. They have the best potential first because their adult population is growing faster than their child population, and second because they are in a period of rapid urbanization. Urbanization combined with a growing labor force creates demands for financial services, housing, household furnishings, appliances, transportation and transportation-related services such as hotels and automobile products and services.

The Luxury and Leisure countries like Japan, Canada, and Australia represent substantial current markets and should not be ignored. But as their population ages and growth stops, the greater potential for consumer market growth will be in other countries.

As Climber countries develop into Luxury and Leisure countries, some Seeker countries will move up into The Climber cluster at the same time, and some Luxury and Leisure countries will inevitably age into The Rocking Chair set. •

—Doris Walsh

Doris Walsh is editor of International Demographics.

ATW / *cont. from p. 2*

Top 25 U.S. Export Markets

U.S. Domestic and Foreign Merchandise Exports, 1983

	Rank 1983	*Rank 1982*
1.	Canada	1
2.	Japan	2
3.	United Kingdom	4
4.	Mexico	3
5.	West Germany	5
6.	Saudi Arabia	6
7.	Netherlands	7
8.	France	8
9.	South Korea	9
10.	Belgium & Luxumburg	10
11.	Australia	13
12.	Taiwan	14
13.	Italy	12
14.	Singapore	17
15.	Switzerland	20
16.	Egypt	19
17.	Venezuela	11
18.	Spain	15
19.	Hong Kong	22
20.	Brazil	16
21.	China	18
22.	South Africa	23
23.	Israel	24
24.	U.S.S.R.	21
25.	India	not on 1982 list.

Source: Business America, U.S. Department of Commerce, Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. $55/year.

Coming Next Month. . .

Growth in the Mexican labor force continues. How rapidly will it grow? Is any slowdown in sight? Two U.S. Census Bureau experts analyze the future.

Profile: Despite its problems, Argentina is the envy of other Latin American nations. Learn why.

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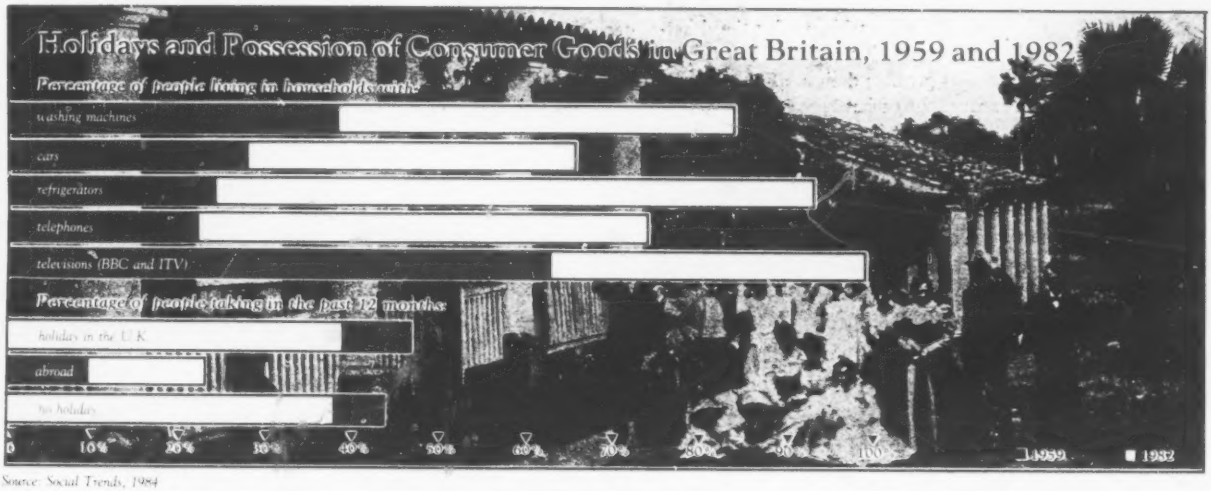

Source: *Social Trends, 1984*

The Changing British Lifestyle

Life in Great Britain has changed substantially in the last quarter century. The 1984 issue of *Social Trends* from the British government statistical office draws longitudinal comparisons between the lifestyles of those aged 65 and older in 1959 and in 1982, but many of the changes apply to the whole population as well.

For example, as household size declined, the proportion of people living alone increased from 7 to 12 percent of the population aged 15 and older. But for elderly women, the rise in the proportion living alone was most dramatic — from 33 percent in 1959 to 46 percent in 1982. Sixty-six percent of elderly men, on the other hand, lived with one other person — usually their spouse.

Home ownership has increased substantially in the last quarter century in Britain. In 1959 only 38 percent of homes were owner occupied. By 1982, 59 percent of people lived in homes they owned. Mark Abrams, author of the *Social Trends* article, "Changes in the Life-Styles of the Elderly 1959-1982," comments:

"One consequence of this growth in home ownership was an enormous expansion in the proportion of people of all ages and both sexes undertaking home maintenance and home improvement jobs. D.I.Y. (Do It Yourself) became letters that everyone understood and D.I.Y. paperbacks, press features, and radio and television broadcasts poured out."

When asked whether they did any painting or decorating at home, 71 percent of the population aged 15 and older replied affirmatively.

The British are known as a nation of pet lovers, but modern lifestyles have apparently left less room in the home for pets. Only dogs "retained their 1959 hold on the affections of

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COUNTRY PROFILE: ARGENTINA

elderly men and women," Abrams notes. Among the population aged 15 and over, the number of people owning dogs increased from 23 percent in 1959 to 26.5 percent in 1982. Cat owners, however, decreased from 22.5 percent in 1959 to 19 percent. And in the "other pets" category, ownership decreased from 29.5 percent in 1959 to 16.5 percent in 1982.

"A contributory factor in the decline of pets," Abrams says, "may have been that the mass acquisition of desirable consumer goods provided both home owners and tenants with other outlets for their energies."

There has been a steady increase in the percentage of people living in households with certain kinds of consumer goods in the past quarter century. Eighty-four percent of people now live in households with a washing machine, 66 percent have a car, 93 percent have a refrigerator, 74 percent a telephone, and 99 percent a television.

The percentage of people who have a television has had an obvious effect on the movie-going habits of the British. Even in 1959, only a quarter of the British said they went to the movies three or four times a year or less, and 52 percent said they never went to a movie. Seventeen percent said they went to the movies twice a month or more. By 1982, only 7 percent said they attended a film twice a month or more, and only 14 percent said they go three or four times a year or less.

The percentage of people who spend at least four nights away from home on a vacation ("holiday" to the British) has increased from 56 percent in 1959 to 62 percent in 1982. What is more significant, however, is that the nature of the holidays has changed. In 1959, 47 percent of people traveled in the United Kingdom while only 9 percent went abroad. By 1982, 39 percent of the people traveled in the United Kingdom, but 23 percent of them traveled abroad.

Other chapters in the 1984 edition of *Social Trends* discuss general population trends, households and families, education, employment, income and wealth, housing, leisure, law enforcement, health and personal social services, transport, communications, and the environment. A special chapter focuses on the unemployed.

Social Trends 1984 is available for 19.95 sterling from Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), P.O. Box 176, London SW8 5DT, England; telephone 01-622-3316. It can be ordered in the U.S. for $32.91 from Bernan Associates, 9730-E George Palmer Highway, Lanham, MD 20706. •

Around the World

Will China's Higher Incomes Produce More Children?

China's rising per capita income may weaken government efforts to reduce fertility.

According to an article in the December issue of *Population and Development Review*, analysis of 1982 census data from China shows that rising income has now become associated with higher fertility rates, at least in urban areas.

The article's authors, Nancy Birdsall and Dean T. Jamison, hypothesize that the increased income allowed couples to pay less attention to the government's economic incentives and disincentives. The authors make the reasonable prediction that the same trend will occur in relatively poorer rural areas as incomes there rise.

The authors believe that China's policymakers may soon have to grant either much larger economic incentives or further increase the use of noneconomic forms of persuasion if they wish the one-child policy to continue successfully.

Population and Development Review is a quarterly journal published by the Population Council. Order it from the Council at One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, New York, NY 10017; telephone (212) 644-1300 for $14 a year.

Ringing Japanese Doorbells

Japanese consumers and workers are warming to the door-to-door selling technique. A recent consumer survey by the prime minister's office found that 63 percent of all homes surveyed had been visited by a salesperson within the past two years, and that 32 percent of the people actually bought something.

Items most commonly sold door-to-door include cosmetics, apparel, and sleeping equipment, but a report in the November 1983 *FocusJapan* published by the Japan External Trade Organization, said competition is increasing.

One success story has been Noevia Cosmetics, a five-year-old company with 600,000 salespeople and $362 million in sales in 1982. Any person who buys more than $83 worth of cosmetics for personal use in a year can be enrolled as a Noevia Lady. Once she enrolls, she can purchase cosmetics at a 30 percent discount from the market price.

To counter complaints about salespeople, the Japan Direct Selling Association has begun a system which has registered about 570,000 salespeople.

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Mexico's Demographic Trends and Employment Prospects

While Mexico's population growth rate declined from about 3 percent annually in 1970 to approximately 2.6 percent in 1982, the country's growth earlier in the century will produce an unprecedented increase in the size of its labor force and in the demand for jobs.

Mortality in Mexico started to fall in the early 1900s and the pace of decline accelerated after 1940, when mortality was just beginning to decline in most other Latin American countries. Mexico's birth rate, on the other hand, started to decline only in the mid-1970s. Because of the continued high fertility and the simultaneous decline in mortality, the country had rapid rates of population growth from 1960 to 1975.

This rapid population growth is now affecting the working-age population. In general, the working-age population will grow faster than the total population, according to recent population projections from the U.S. Census Bureau. While the growth rate of the total population was 2.8 percent a year from 1970 to 1980, the growth rate for the population in working ages will increase to 3.8 percent per year during the period from 1980 to 1985, as the children born during periods of high fertility become working-age adults.

Although after 1985 the growth rate of the population aged 15 to 64 will start to decline, the working-age population during the last decade of this century will continue to grow at the pace that the total population grew during 1970-80. Furthermore, the number of persons that will be added to the 15 to 64 age group will continuously increase from now to the year 2010.

While the dependency ratio (the population under 15 and over 64 divided by those aged 15 to 64) will decline between 1980 and 2010 (from .94 to .54), the accelerated growth of the Mexican labor force and the significant increase in the demand for jobs should not be overlooked.

Accompanying the growth of the working-age population, there will likely be an increase in educational attainment and a decline in fertility. Thus, the demand for jobs will grow at an astonishingly high rate, as a larger proportion of women and a better educated populace desire to enter the labor force.

One of the problems in predicting the size of the labor force is predicting the percent of persons at each age who will be working or looking for work. The rates for men are usually easier to predict than the rates for women. Rates for men aged 25 to 55 are constant at a high level. The problem with predicting female participation is predicting the level of development of the country. The more developed a country, the larger the proportion of women who work in non-agricultural jobs. As women become better educated and have fewer children, their participation in the labor force usually increases.

If one assumes that the economic activity rates for Mexico in the year 2000 will reach the same level as Argentina in 1970, the number of people looking for jobs during the next two decades will grow at an ex-

continued on p. 10

Mexico's Labor Force in Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Work: 1970 and 2000

	Labor Force (000's)	
Year	*Agriculture*	*Non-Agriculture*
1970	5,774	8,036
2000	6,693	34,994

Note: The agricultural proportion of the labor force in Mexico in the year 2000 was assumed to be the same as Argentina in 1970.

Mexico's Labor Force: 1970 to 2000

	Labor force (000's)			*Average annual growth rate (percent)*		
Year	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
1970	13,810	11,239	2,571	—	—	—
1975	16,960	13,472	3,488	4.1	3.6	6.1
1980	20,084	15,600	4,484	3.4	2.9	5.0
1985	24,682	18,816	5,866	4.1	3.7	5.4
1990	30,055	22,577	7,478	3.9	3.6	4.9
1995	35,753	26,543	9,210	3.5	3.2	4.2
2000	41,687	30,617	11,070	3.1	2.9	3.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982. Calculated using the population projections for Mexico and assumed economic activity rates. It was assumed that the 1970 economic activity rates of Mexico will change linearly by the year 2000 to levels observed in Argentina in 1970.

Population of Mexico: 1950 to 2010

(numbers in 000s)

Year	*Total population*	*Population change during the preceding five years*	*Average Annual growth rate (%)*
1950	28,485	—	—
1955	32,930	4,445	2.9
1960	38,579	5,649	3.2
1965	45,142	6,563	3.1
1970	52,775	7,633	3.1
1975	61,456	8,681	3.1
1980	70,111	8,655	2.6
1985	79,662	9,551	2.6
1990	90,281	10,619	2.5
1995	101,548	11,267	2.4
2000	112,777	11,229	2.1
2005	123,420	10,643	1.8
2010	133,354	9,934	1.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

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Country Profile

Republic of Argentina

A prominent textile manufacturer observed last year, "To an Argentine businessman, short-term (planning) is until tonight, medium-term is until the end of the week, and long-term is until the next change of economic ministers." With at least 30 economic ministers in the last 40 years, even long-term planning in Argentina is brief by United States standards.

Decades of political upheaval and economic turmoil, with an inflation rate last year of 430 percent, have taken their toll on Argentina's business climate. Between 1951 when Juan Peron first became president and today, there have been nearly a dozen successions of government. At least half of those were military coups. Terrorism from left- and right-wing factions marked many political transitions, and the government's anti-terrorist measures have led to serious violations of human rights. The recently-elected president, Raul Alfonsin, is trying to redress such violations and his efforts have encouraged U.S. leaders. President Alfonsin has a long way to go to help Argentina fulfill its potential as one of the wealthiest countries in Latin America.

Population Growth

While Argentina's economic and political history may seem grim by U.S. standards, it is envied by many other Latin American nations. And, by the Latin American standards, its demographic situation is enviable as well.

A low population growth rate combined with abundant natural resources means the crushing poverty plaguing many of its neighbors has not hit Argentina. Almost everyone eats well and the staple is beef — about 240 pounds per capita per year. With a national cattle herd of 60 million, there is an average of 2 head for every Argentinian, plus some left over for export.

Final figures for the 1980 census of population and housing report a total of 27.9 million people, an increase of 17 percent from the 23.8 million people counted in 1970. The average annual rate of increase was 1.5 percent a year. With the exception of Uruguay, this is the lowest rate of increase in continental Latin America. Only small Caribbean countries have lower rates of population growth in the Latin American region.

The birth rate of 24 births per 1,000 population is third only to Chile and Uruguay as the lowest in continental Latin America, although the death rate is about average at 9 deaths per 1,000. After several decades of decline, the death rate is rising again because the population is aging. The infant mortality rate is currently 41 deaths per 1,000 live births, higher than that for Chile and Uruguay, but well below the average for all of Latin America.

Argentina has a long history of immigration, but since World War II the majority of immigrants have come from neighboring South American countries rather than from Europe. About 10 percent of the population counted in the 1980 census were born in a country other than Argentina.

A larger issue now is the emigration of Argentines to other countries, a problem that is most severe among highly trained professionals. Over one-third of those who leave Argentina come to the United States, with Spain and Canada receiving the next highest numbers. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that of the 10,000 Argentine professionals who arrived in New York City between 1968 and 1978, almost 1,500 were doctors, 1,400 were engineers, and 400 were scientists. The rest included professors, accountants, lawyers, and architects. One estimate is that over one million citizens have left Argentina in the past 15 years.

At its current growth rate, Argentina's population will double in 46 years. The Population Reference Bureau estimates the population was 29.1 million in 1983. It projects a population of 34.5 million by the year 2000 and 39.6 million by 2020. Argentina's government considers its population growth rate too low and believes a larger population is necessary to develop natural resources and an internal market. Mortality rates are unacceptably high, according to the government, while birth rates are too low and should be increased. The government also believes that immigration

is too low and emigration unacceptably high.

Argentina's population is relatively old by the standards of developing countries. Only 30 percent of Argentinians are under age 15, for example, compared with 45 percent of Mexicans and 23 percent of U.S. citizens. Persons aged 65 and over make up 8 percent of Argentina's population compared with 4 percent in Mexico and 11 percent in the United States. The median age of Argentinians in 1980 was 27.2 years, not much younger than the median age of 30 years in the United States.

Life expectancy at birth averaged 70 years in 1980 for both sexes. Women live longer than men: 73 years for women compared with 66 for men. Life expectancy in the United States is currently about 77 years for women and 70 years for men. The United Nations projects that longevity will increase only slightly in Argentina in the future.

Regions and Cities

The land area of Argentina is just over one million square miles, or slightly less than half the size of the United States. The density is a low 25 persons per square mile. Approximately 80 percent of the population live in urban areas. Over one-third of the population live in and around Gran Buenos Aires, the largest metropolitan area in South America and among the ten largest in the world.

The country is divided into 22 Provinces, 1 District (the Federal Capital) and 1 Territory (Tierra del Fuego). Tierra del Fuego is an island at the southern tip of the continent, and is divided between Argentina on the east and Chile on the west.

The Province of Buenos Aires has the largest population — 39 percent of the country's total. The Federal Capital is the second largest with 10.5 percent of the total. The provinces of Cordoba and Santa Fe each contain about 9 percent of the population, while all other provinces range from less than 1 percent to 4 percent of the total.

Two small provinces — Neuguen and Rio Negro — were the fastest growing between 1970 and 1980. Neuguen grew 56 percent and Rio Negro 46 percent.

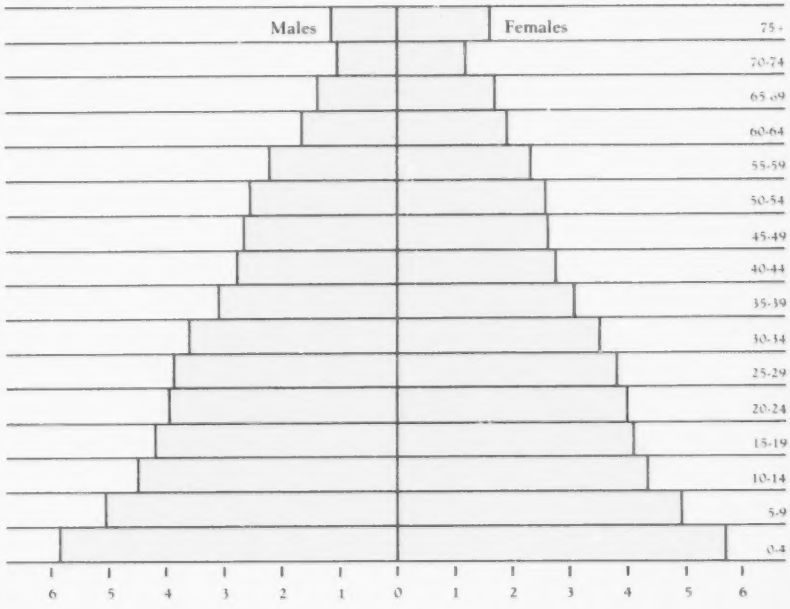
Buenos Aires Province grew 23 percent from 8.8 million to 10.8 million during the decade. The Federal Capital actually declined in population by 2 percent, from 2.97 million to 2.91 million people. The Territory of Tierra del Fuego grew at the enormous rate of 88 percent, but the actual numbers changed from only 15,600 to 29,400 people between 1970 and 1980.

The Federal Capital is a part of the Gran Buenos Aires metropolitan area, which is located in Buenos Aires Province. The Federal Capital is further subdivided into 20 districts. Over half of these districts lost population between 1970 and 1980.

Gran Buenos Aires had a total of 6.8 million people in 1980, an increase of 26 percent over its 5.4 million 1970 population. Of the 19 partidos (divisions) within the metropolitan area (excluding the Federal Capital), only Avellaneda lost population in the last decade. The fastest growing partido was Florencio Varela, with a 75 percent growth rate, followed by four more that grew between 55 percent and 70 percent. Four partidos grew less than 10

Population of Argentina by Age and Sex: 1980

(in percent)



(numbers in 000s)

Age	Total	Male	Female
All Ages	27,947.4	13,756.0	14,191.5
0-4	3,240.8	1,640.0	1,600.8
5-9	2,783.8	1,407.2	1,376.5
10-14	2,456.2	1,240.2	1,216.0
15-19	2,335.4	1,170.0	1,165.4
20-24	2,217.7	1,096.3	1,121.4
25-29	2,133.4	1,057.6	1,075.8
30-34	1,970.3	979.6	990.7
35-39	1,731.0	860.2	870.8
40-44	1,550.4	771.7	778.7
45-49	1,495.7	744.4	751.3
50-54	1,458.5	710.4	748.1
55-59	1,276.0	617.7	658.3
60-64	1,002.5	468.5	534.0
65-69	875.1	397.9	477.2
70-74	637.6	282.0	355.6
75+	783.0	312.2	470.8

Source: 1980 census final results.

percent. The rest of Buenos Aires Province, excluding the metropolitan area, grew 18 percent, from 3.4 million in 1970 to 4 million people in 1980.

Gran Buenos Aires is the only city in Argentina with one million or more people. Other cities with a half million or more people are Cordoba, Rosario, La Plata, and Mendoza. While 35 percent of the population live in Gran Buenos Aires, another 11 percent live in cities ranging in size from 500,000 people to 999,999 people. Still another 11 percent live in places of 100,000 up to 500,000 people. Nearly 60 percent of the population live in places of 100,000 or more; only 15 percent live in places with fewer than 1,000 people.

Ethnicity and Religion

Argentina was discovered in 1516 by a Spanish navigator, and there is a large core of Spanish descendents still living, but some other European countries are well represented also. One estimate is that 35 percent of the population is of Italian ancestry. There are also sizeable numbers of British, East and West Europeans, Arabs, and Jews, including a community of about 450,000 Jews in Buenos Aires. English is spoken by an increasingly large number of people, especially in cities and among business people and professionals.

Households and Families

The 1980 census recorded 7.1 million Argentine households. The average number of persons per household was 3.9 (versus 2.7 in the United States). Eleven percent of households had only one person. Nineteen percent had two people. In the United States, 23 percent of households have only one person and 32 percent have two people. Eighteen percent of Argentine households had six or more members in 1980 (versus 5 percent of U.S. households).

The majority of Argentine households consist of a married couple with children. In 1980, 59 percent of all households had at least one parent with children and 24 percent were extended families, meaning that other relatives besides the parents and children lived in the home. Married couples and their children occupied 2.9 million households. Only 20 percent of family households had no children.

There were 27.4 million people living in households in Argentina in 1980. Of these, 26 percent were classified as heads of households, 18 percent as spouses, and 40 percent as children. Another 12 percent were extended family members, and 3 percent were classified as domestic servants or no relation to the household head. Less than 3 percent of the population live in a one-person household; 10 percent in two-person households; and 35 percent in a three-or-four-person household. Approximately two-thirds of the population live in a nuclear family while one-third lives in an extended family.

According to recent CELADE estimates, the average number of children per woman in 1980 was 3.4. Earlier United Nations estimates of 2.8 children were revised upward after the results of the 1980 census were released. The United Nations now projects that Argentina's total fertility rate (the average number of children per woman) will drop to 2.7 by 2000 and to 2.2 by 2020.

Housing

There were 8.2 million dwellings counted in 1980, with an average of 3.3 people per dwelling. Thirteen percent of all dwellings — 1.1 million — were unoccupied at the time of the census

The Federal Capital District had 1.1 million dwellings, 84 percent of which were occupied. The Province of Buenos Aires had 3.4 million dwellings, 85 percent of which were occupied in 1980. Buenos Aires Province accounts for 41 percent of the dwellings in the country. The Province of Catamarca has the highest vacancy rate (18 percent), while Chaco has the lowest (7 percent).

The majority of dwellings (69 percent) have independent access to the street. Eighteen percent of dwellings are apartment buildings. Eight percent of dwellings are temporary, while the remaining 6 percent are mostly ranches. The Federal Capital District, as an urban center, naturally has the highest proportion of apartments (73 percent). The Province with the highest proportion of non-apartment housing is La Pampa (91 percent), while Buenos Aires Province has the highest proportion of apartment buildings. Santiago del Estero and Formosa are the two provinces with the highest proportion of ranches (32 and 28 percent respectively).

Education

Argentina's literacy rate, at over 90 percent, is one of the highest in Latin America. The educational system consists of seven compulsory years of schooling beginning at age six. About one-half of all five-year-olds were in pre-school in 1980.

Ninety percent of all children aged 6 to 12 were enrolled in primary school in 1980. Among children aged 13 to 17, 42 percent were enrolled in secondary school. About 9 percent of people aged 18 to 24 years were in post-secondary colleges or universities in 1980. Schooling continues on into the older years for a small minority of Argentinians. Among persons aged 25 to 34 years, 4 percent were in secondary or post-secondary classes in 1980.

Enrollment rates for men and women are almost identical in every age category. Among children aged 5 to 9, 85 percent of girls and boys are in school. For those aged 10 to 14, 88 percent of girls and 90 percent of boys are enrolled, and about 40 percent of both boys and girls aged 15 to 19 are in school. Among those aged 25 to 34, 4 percent of both men and women are in school. Women constitute about one-half of all students in higher education.

Among the population aged 13 and older, one-third had completed a primary education in 1980. About 10 percent had a secondary education and 3 percent of the population had completed post-secondary or university education.

The younger population has more formal schooling than their elders. Among people aged 25 to 29, for example, 6 percent had a post-secondary degree and 14 percent had a secondary education. By comparison, only 2 percent of persons aged 65 and over had a post-secondary education and only 6 percent had a secondary degree.

Young women are slightly more likely than young men to have completed higher education. Eighteen

percent of women and 14 percent of men aged 20 to 24 had completed secondary school in 1980. Among persons aged 25 to 29, 7 percent of women and 5 percent of men had a postsecondary degree.

Labor Force

There were 10.4 million people in Argentina's labor force in 1980, or about 60 percent of the population aged 15 to 64. The unemployment rate of 2.3 percent in 1980 was low by any country's standards, but there is a much larger percentage of workers who are classified as "temporarily laid off" rather than unemployed, so that the unemployment rate is deceiving.

Large cattle and ranching industries account for 19 percent of the labor force. Although the country relies heavily on cattle for export income, the agricultural labor force is not large because beef cattle are not labor intensive. Industry and commerce account for 36 percent of the labor force, while services employ 20 percent of all workers.

Detailed labor force data were not collected in the 1980 census and no labor force survey has been taken in recent years.

Income and Communications

Among South American countries, Argentina has a per capita GNP of $2,560, behind only Venezuela, Suriname and Uruguay. But partially due to its volatile political climate, Argentina ranks lower now in per capita income in the world than it did following World War II. At that time, Argentina was 15th; now it is closer to 50th among all countries.

Argentina took a large-scale survey on income in urban areas in 1980, but because of soaring inflation and repeated devaluation of the peso, it is almost impossible to portray earnings accurately. The 1980 report found that median income was highest in three cities: C. Rivadavia, Neuguen, and Gran La Plata. Gran Buenos Aires also had a median income above the average for all urban areas. Per capita income followed a slightly different pattern with C. Rivadavia, Gran La Plata, Neuguen, Santa Fe, and Gran Buenos Aires all above average in per capita income.

Close to 40 percent of all families owned a car in 1980. Electricity is available throughout the country and there are over 5 million television sets receiving transmissions from 34 stations. Gran Buenos Aires has about 45 daily newspapers including two in German and one each in English, Italian, and Yiddish. Television and radio stations are both government and privately owned.

There is a sophisticated market research and advertising community in Argentina. Just as in the United States, consumers respond to upbeat images in advertisements featuring attractive people. An abundance of food means that Argentinians worry about their weight just like their

Population and Housing, Argentina: 1980 *

	Population				*Percent Change*	*1980*
Area	*Males*	*Females*	*1980 Total*	*1970 Total*	*1970-1980*	*Housing Units*
Total	**13,716,098**	**14,146,673**	**27,862,771**	**23,364,431**	**19.3**	**8,306,705**
Federal capital	1,324,499	1,583,502	2,908,001	2,972,453	—2.2	1,092,558
Buenos Aires	5,351,970	5,444,066	10,796,036	8,774,529	23.0	3,451,896
Catamarca	101,519	104,685	206,204	172,323	19.7	52,455
Cordoba	1,188,495	1,218,640	2,407,135	2,060,065	16.8	699,798
Corrientes	325,424	332,292	657,716	564,147	16.6	161,586
Chaco	350,244	342,166	692,410	566,613	22.2	161,260
Chubut	136,335	125,861	262,196	189,920	38.1	73,717
Entre Rios	445,871	456,370	902,241	811,691	11.2	242,622
Formosa	148,219	144,260	292,479	234,075	25.0	69,320
Jujuy	204,374	204,140	408,514	302,436	35.1	103,161
La Pampa	106,805	100,327	207,132	172,029	20.4	67,675
La Rioja	81,141	82,201	163,342	136,237	19.9	40,636
Mendoza	584,761	602,544	1,187,305	973,075	22.0	306,279
Misiones	293,110	286,469	579,579	443,020	30.8	139,705
Neuguen	124,386	117,518	241,904	154,570	56.5	61,473
Rio Negro	196,820	187,076	383,896	262,622	46.2	109,981
Salta	330,140	332,229	662,369	509,803	29.9	154,351
San Juan	226,780	243,193	469,973	384,284	22.3	108,310
San Luis	106,869	105,968	212,837	183,460	16.0	57,376
Santa Cruz	64,302	50,177	114,479	84,457	35.5	31,236
Santa Fe	1,207,963	1,249,225	2,457,188	2,135,583	15.1	754,653
Santiago del Estero	317,384	334,934	652,318	495,419	31.7	137,349
Tucuman	480,803	487,263	968,066	765,962	26.4	221,761
Other territories	17,884	11,567	29,451	15,658	88.1	7,547

Source: National Census of Population and Housing, 1980 (Provisional Results)

*Totals differ from those shown on page 5 (by less than 0.5%) because these are provisional numbers.

North American neighbors. A developing interest in weight watching has given the edge to diet soft drinks, cottage cheese, and yogurt.

Sources of Information

Argentina's Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos has a variety of reports available for the 1980 census and from annual statistical surveys. The Censo Nacional de Poblacion Vivienda 1980 supplies final census results for population and housing for the country and individual provinces. Recent labor force statistics are available from the Anuario Estadistico de la Republica Argentina, 1979-1980. Income figures are reported in the Distribution del Ingreso Urbano en la Argentina, although we caution against using these figures as any more than a general guideline, or as a way of ordering cities from highest to lowest in income, for example.

From the United States government are the State Department's Background Notes on Argentina (May, 1980); the Overseas Business Report published in September 1981, and the Foreign Economic Trends Report from November 1981. In January, the new Argentina government put new import control regulations into effect. They are supposed to apply only until June 30, 1984, but developments in this area should be watched carefully. A summary of the new import control regulations appears in the Feb. 6, 1984 issue of *Business America*. (Single copy, $3.25, order from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 or from U.S. Department of Commerce District Offices.) •

—Daphne Spain

Daphne Spain is International Demographics' *Washington correspondent.*

World Population Growth: Whose Business?

More than 40 percent of the world is without access to family planning services despite "very clear signs of a growing demand for these services," according to Leon Tabah, director of the United Nations Population Division.

Briefing the press in advance of the International Conference on Population scheduled for August 6-13 in Mexico City, Tabah said that the World Fertility Survey conducted in 40 countries shows that at least 50 percent of married women who have four or more children say they do not want any more. This was not true ten years ago when the last World Population Conference was held, he said.

The survey, which Tabah called "very scientific" and the "best that we have in hand," found that the proportion of married women who desire no more children varies from 30 percent in Nepal to 72 percent in Korea, with an average of 53 percent for all surveyed.

Just as the majority of developing countries are beginning to recognize the need to reduce population growth rates, some of the developed countries are losing the momentum to reduce growth rates that has gathered over the past ten years.

Distribution of World Population by Region, Medium Variant: 1950, 1980, 2000, and 2025

(in percent)

Region	*1950*	*1980*	*2000*	*2025*
TOTAL	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Africa	8.9	10.7	14.3	20.1
Latin America	6.6	8.1	9.0	9.7
North America	6.6	5.7	4.9	4.3
East Asia	26.8	26.5	24.0	20.8
South Asia	27.8	31.6	33.9	33.9
Europe	15.6	10.9	8.3	6.3
Oceania	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
USSR	7.2	6.0	5.1	4.4

Source: Results of the United Nations demographic estimates and projections as assessed in 1982.

Businesses that work in developing countries can be part of the effort to reduce population growth by providing family planning and health care services to their employees and supporting the voluntary efforts even when their employees are not direct recipients.

Four relationships will be the focus of the International Conference on Population:

—Fertility and the family (literate women are more likely to work and want smaller families).

—Mortality and health (improved health care reduces child deaths and increases life expectancy).

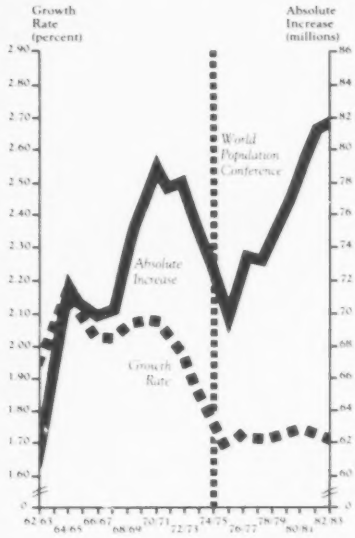
—Migration and urbanization (populations relocate both within and outside of national borders to search for safety and employment).

—Resources and environment (depletion of world resources and deterioration of natural environments).

Since the 1974 World Population Conference, the world population growth rate has declined slightly from 2 percent a year to 1.7 percent a year.

Demographers in the United States interpret the ten-year change as simply a plateau. United Nations'

World Population Growth: Annual Growth Rate and Absolute Increase, 1962/63 - 1982/83



population specialists, on the other hand, take pride in the decline.

Some United States experts believe the task of the conference will be diluted if it is believed that the world population growth rate for the decade declined. United Nations experts, on the other hand, believe that countries will be discouraged if the rate is described as a plateau.

Regardless of the interpretation, the task of the conference looms large. In the last ten years, 90 percent of population growth took place in developing countries. Even though some of these countries have reduced their birth rates, the number of women of childbearing age will be large for several decades.

In order for the population growth rate to slow, the fertility of the people who have already been born must be a priority concern. If, through the efforts of the International Conference on Population, a country's leadership can see how its demographics are linked with its socioeconomic well-being, it can direct strategies to achieve the results it wants. •

—Jane K. Boorstein

Jane Boorstein is International Demographics' *correspondent at the United Nations.*

Publications

Whitaker's Almanack 1984, 116th Edition, 1983, London: J. Whitaker and Sons, Ltd., 1,220 pages, $46. Order from Gale Research Co., Book Tower, Detroit, MI 48226.

Whitaker's Almanack is a mini-encyclopedia of Great Britain, but it also contains articles of international interest on a country-by-country basis. Tables, charts, maps, and other information generally found in almanacs are found in Whitaker's. Subjects covered range from weather to the peerage, trade to postal regulations.

A Census User's Handbook, edited by David Rhind, 1983, London: Methuen, 393 pp., $29.95 hardcover; $14.95 paper. Order from Methuen, Inc. 733 Third Ave., New York, NY 10017.

This book is probably more than you ever wanted to know about the 1981 British census. On the other hand, if you rely on the data collected by it to help you make site selections, create sales territories, or make consumer marketing or advertising decisions in Great Britain, this volume may be exactly what you need.

David Rhind has compiled a volume that takes the census user from a brief history of past censuses through 1981 questions, results, definitions, and such techniques as bivariate and multivariate analysis. This book does not contain data from the 1981 census. It does describe the census in detail including various census products, geographic areas, comparisons with prior years' questions, changes in definitions, and so on.

Abstracts of Current Studies, 1983, The World Bank, 1818 H St. NW, Washington, DC 20433.

This free volume from The World Bank provides up-to-date abstracts and proposed publication dates for World Bank research projects. Research topics include education, mass media, labor force, health, nutrition, and income.

The Threat of Japanese Multinationals — *How the West Can Respond* by Lawrence G. Franko, 1983, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 148 pp., $21.95.

Japanese strengths have been aided by the weaknesses of Western companies, according to Lawrence G. Franko, professor of International Business Relations at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Franko says too often U.S. and European companies neglect research and development, look for short-term financial results, ignore world-wide developments in their own industries, and take a narrow view of products and market segments.

On the latter point, for example, he chides the Western "Myopia." "As a result of the special characteristics of Japan as a home market, Japanese firms have been naturally led to develop smaller, lower-priced versions of products introduced earlier in the West. The low production costs permitted by the scale economies available within the huge Japanese market then give the Japanese firms a 'natural' comparative advantage in such market segments," Franko writes.

"The 'up-market' versus 'down-market' vocabulary alone has been indicative of the negligence or even abandonment of those segments by Western auto producers, motorcycle companies, TV set manufacturers, copier companies, machine tool firms, and others," he says.

Using examples from firms that do operate successfully in Japan, Franko suggests that products that combine design, image and fashion with sophisticated technology and craft-based skills sell best in Japan. He mentions Rolex watches, designer scarves, dresses, attache cases, and luggage as well as products and services "intensive in Western language software" such as Hewlett-Packard

and Digital Equipment. Services such as credit cards that help the Japanese tourist overcome the language barrier have also done well, Franko says.

The book offers a new perspective on the Japanese multinational, analyzing Western firms' strengths as well as weaknesses.

Transnationals and The Third World: The Struggle for Culture by Armand Mattelart, 1983, South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 192 pp., $22.95 cloth.

This book is the result of one of two studies commissioned by United Nations' Center on Transnational Corporations. The two studies examine the impact of transnational firms on the sociocultural aspects of developing countries. One study focuses on the positive impact, the other on the negative. This book emphasizes the negative.

The author does not stick strictly to transnational firms; he also examines the large organizations such as educational institutions that do studies on birth control use and policy in developing countries, as well as transnational educational television networks.

To Armand Mattelart, any involvement of transnational firms has a negative impact on a country's sociocultural development, and his examples make one a true believer. For example, transnational school supply companies help Mexican students enter the transnational world through Kimberly Clark's notebooks which transport "children in Ford cars to sunny tourist beaches and lakes." Globes from Chicago are called "the greatest novelty of the season."

Mattelart's points are well taken, of course. Transnational companies do affect the cultures into which they move. It would be impossible not to do so. Therefore, this study does serve as a caution to transnational companies against the kinds of behavior which often result in excessive regulation from developing countries.

The theories of this work are sometimes difficult to understand, perhaps because it loses something in the translation from the French. Do not expect an easy read, but rather one that is thought-provoking.

Population: Labor Force Activity, 1981 Census of Canada (92-915), $9.50.
Population: Labor Force — Occupation by Cultural Characteristics (92-918), $8.50 in Canada, $10.20 in other countries.
Population, Mobility Status of the Labor Force (92-926), $18 in Canada, $21 other countries.

Order each of the above from Publications Sales and Services, Statistics Canada, Ottawa K1A OT6 at the price listed.

These reports from the 1981 census show labor force activity of the population aged 15 and over by selected demographic, socio-cultural, linguistic, educational, employment, and geographic characteristics, for Canada and its provinces.

Included in the reports are extensive data on the 4.5 million Canadian women who were in the labor force in 1981, more than half of all women aged 15 and over.

During the 1970s, labor force participation by married women in Canada jumped from 37 percent to 52 percent and their numbers grew from 1.8 million to 3.1 million. Participation rates were highest for women in their early 20s at 77 percent, but 65 percent of women between the ages of 25 and 44 also worked.

Women remained concentrated in the traditional occupations of clerical work, sales, services, health and teaching, but the number of women in management and administration, engineering, computer programming, social work, university teaching, medicine, law, and several occupations related to science more than tripled in some cases.

"Women in the Work World," a layperson's guide to the changing role of women in the nation's work place will be published soon by Statistics Canada. To reserve a copy, write to the address above. Other titles expected to be available this spring include "Canada's Young Homeowners," "Changes in Incomes in Canada 1970-1980," "The Elderly in Canada," and "Canada's Lone-Parent Families." •

Mexico / *continued from p. 3*

tremely high rate. From 1980 to 1985, the growth rate will be about 4 percent a year, and it will decline to about 3.1 percent per year during the last five years of the century. While the annual increase in jobs from 1975 to 1980 was 625,000, the number of jobs needed during the last five years of the century will almost double, to about 1.2 million jobs per year.

An additional factor complicates this rather bleak economic forecast: namely, the composition of the labor force. The process of economic development usually transforms agricultural societies into non-agricultural ones. This change is usually accompanied by urbanization. In Mexico, rapid urbanization and a large reduction in the proportion of the labor force in agriculture has begun.

According to population projections by urban/rural areas for Mexico, from 1980 to the year 2000 the urban population is expected to grow at a rate of 3.1 percent a year, while the rural population will grow at an annual rate of 0.7 percent. This implies that most of the demand for new jobs will be in urban areas and in the non-agricultural sector. If one assumes that Mexico will reach in the year 2000 the same percentage of the labor force in non-agricultural activities as was true in Argentina in 1970, then the non-agricultural labor force will gain 27 million people between 1970 and 2000, a 335 percent growth, to 35 million non-agricultural workers.

While the agricultural labor force will still grow (but at less than 0.7 percent a year), the non-agricultural labor force will demand new jobs at an average annual rate of 5 percent a year from 1970 to 2000. Providing those jobs will be an extremely difficult task.

Can the Mexican economy create jobs rapidly in the non-agricultural sector? Can the modern sector of the economy with investments highly capital intensive (which do not generate many jobs), create enough jobs to meet the expected

demand? Or will the new job seekers be absorbed by the traditional sectors where salaries are generally low? And, what implications will this situation have for Mexico's income distribution? There are no definitive answers to these questions because the factors that affect the economy include economic planning, investments, and the prospects for international trade and markets.

Regardless of these factors, past population growth has created an age structure that will make it extremely difficult to reduce unemployment in Mexico during the rest of the century. Plans should be made immediately for counteracting the effects of these demographic trends, and for creating an economic environment that can absorb the enormous increase in workers seeking jobs in the modern sector.

Sources for this article include: *Labor Force Estimates and Projections, 1950-2000*, Vol. III, Latin America, Geneva: The International Labor Office, and *Detailed Statistics on the Urban and Rural Population of Mexico, 1950-2010* by Patricia Rowe, Washington, D.C.. U.S. Census Bureau. (Unpublished.) •

—Susan O'Connor and Eduardo E. Arriaga

The authors are researchers at the U.S. Census Bureau's Center for International Research.

One Child / *continued from p. 12*

and women equal in all respects, boys are more respected, carry on the family line, and are economically more viable than girls. By tradition, elderly parents live with their male children.

The statistical probabilities are that one-half of China's couples will have sons. But surveys find that only 2 percent of couples would be satisfied to have only a daughter and Chinese sex ratios already indicate this preference. Urban sex ratios of 154 men for each 100 women, and 503 men for every 100 women in rural areas, have been reported.

The government insists that the nationwide sex ratio — 106 men for every 100 women — is normal. But this ratio reflects all age groups. The ratios that heavily favor males appear in the younger age groups affected by the one-child policy.

In China, a rough gauge of government concern about an issue is how it is covered by the media. Horrifying stories of infanticide appear regularly in the press.

To counter the infanticide, government family planning materials emphasize the value of girl children. The All-China Women's Federation, an arm of the state, launched a women and children's campaign in early 1983 to publicly denounce abuse of mothers of girls and the practice of female infanticide.

Selective abortions are also used to insure the desired sex of a child. One study showed that with prior knowledge of the sex of a fetus, women were far more likely to abort if the fetus was a girl. In 1981, Nanjing city's Gu Lou hospital banned the general public from access to the test performed to ascertain the sex of the fetus because of the sharp increase in demand for the service.

An imbalance between men and women does not seem serious for children, but when children grow up and reach marriageable age there may not be enough women to go around. This could lead to more gangs of young men, and rape and harassment of women.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate data on female infanticide and selective abortion preclude quantifying their prevalence in China, but the data that are available, coupled with the government's attention to the problems indicate that the issue is of concern.

Contradictions

China's economic policy — called market socialism — ultimately seeks to achieve the four modernizations mentioned earlier. Elements of this policy include increased economic contact with the rest of the world, decentralization of certain economic planning, an emphasis on efficient management and an attempt to increase productivity in all sectors.

In agriculture, the responsibility system, a move toward decommunalization of farming, was initiated in 1979, soon after the one-child policy was announced. Peasants were allotted their private plots, contracting to provide the state with a percentage of their produce. They were free to sell the rest and keep the profit.

MARRIAGE INTRODUCTION SERVICE
"Everybody go home—there are no more women left."

Source: Guilin Daily, *April 17, 1983*

Unintended by the state, this new system gave farmers added economic reasons to produce children. Birth rates went up. The state responded quickly with the double-responsibility system, or contracts for both farm production and births.

Rural Chinese balk at having only one child in part because their existence is more precarious than that of city-dwellers. The government is now testing a policy designed to allow women to have a second child provided they agree to be sterilized afterward. Stories of high fines and coercive actions to enforce such measures are frequently heard in China. The state also threatens to provide no help in times of need for families with more than the allotted number of children.

As affluence grows among the peasantry, it is difficult to predict whether the peasants will adhere to the government's call to have one child, if the peasants will endure the costs of having additional children, or if the choice will remain theirs at all. •

—Karen Hardee

Karen Hardee, who spent 1982 in China, is a graduate student in the International Population Program at Cornell University.

Coming Next Month:

Where to go for the best demographic data in the Asia/Pacific Region.

Profile: South Africa unraveled.

Implications of China's One-Child Policy

China's ambitious attempts to control its population have been effective. Between 1971 and 1981, the annual growth rate declined from 2.3 percent to 1.4 percent.

The government's goal is to keep China's population to 1.2 billion by the year 2000, and either maintain that as a stable population, or, ideally, to reduce the population to 700 million, deemed the optimum population that China's natural resources can sustain. (The 1982 population was 1.008 billion.) The government is using a one-child policy as a means of achieving this goal.

It is now apparent that the one-child policy will not only cause significant changes in the demographic structure of society, but could also contribute to social stress. The age structure is being altered, the ratio of males to females reflects a desire for the only child to be a son, and there are conflicts between the new economic policy and the call for limits on the number of children.

Chinese government officials became sufficiently alarmed about their country's large population in the early 1970s when they initiated a policy urging late marriages, greater spacing between births, and no more than two or three children per couple. It is these policies that helped reduce the annual growth rate.

The combined factors of built-in demographic momentum (the notion that tomorrow's parents are already born today and thus will sustain population growth) and the lagging economy convinced Chinese officials that more stringent measures to control population were necessary. In 1978, the one-child policy was announced. Under certain conditions couples can have two children, but under no circumstances is a third child permitted. A series of economic incentives and disincentives encourage couples to sign the one-child pledge.

The state is powerful enough to enforce the policy in urban areas, but will probably need to be content with a two-child compromise in the countryside.

Age Structure

Like most developing nations, China has a young population now. In 1980, 36 percent of the people were 14 years old or younger, whereas only 5 percent of the population were 65 and older. Each Chinese worker supported .93 dependents (the dependency ratio), mostly young children. The economy is geared to a young population and the government must provide appropriate services: pediatric medical care, day care, and schools.

If Chinese couples reduce their family size to slightly more than 1.5 children per couple, the dependency ratio will improve initially as the percentage of workers increases until 2015. After that however, a large percentage of workers would reach retirement age. In 2020, the percentage of retirees in the population could reach 25 percent, and in 2040 could peak at 32 percent. These percentages of elderly, significantly higher than any in the world today (the U.S. currently has 11 percent elderly; Northern Eúrope, 15 percent), will entail a substantial redistribution of resources and services.

The Chinese government has promised increased retirement benefits for retirees and community aid to elderly with no family to support them. Statistics show that currently only 10 percent of the urban population is covered by pensions and only 1 percent of men and women of retirement age in rural areas are receiving community aid. To increase the number of people assisted would be costly, not only to the state, but also to local areas in whose administrative realm such services lie. In addition, medical care will have to shift its emphasis from pediatrics to geriatrics.

The government is, however, choosing to ignore the ramifications of the graying of Chinese society. Government officials argue that the fertility policy will return to two children before the age structure becomes too skewed and that even if the population does age dramatically after the year 2000, China will be modernized and able to take care of its old people.

The Chinese government sees the social security problems the United States now faces as an inherent defect of a capitalist system. But if the ambitious goals of the "four modernizations" (progress in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense) do not succeed within the promised time, China will have lost valuable lead time in preparing for the aging of its population.

The Sex Ratio

Most Chinese couples want their only child to be a son. Despite official propaganda pronouncing men

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Sex Ratios at Birth for Selected Areas of Anhui Province, 1979-1981.

Unit	Year	Number of Births Total	Male	%	Female	%	Percentage Point Excess of Males to Females
Tanming County	1979	11522	5950	51.6	5572	48.4	3.2
	1980	11554	6115	52.9	5439	47.1	5.8
Huaiyuan County	1980	13487	7593	56.3	5894	43.7	12.6
	1981	10768	6266	58.2	4502	41.8	16.4
Lanchao Commune	1981	133	83	62.4	50	37.6	24.8
Longkand Commune	1981	104	66	63.5	38	36.5	27.0
Heliu Commune	1981	231	145	62.8	86	37.2	25.6

Source: People's Daily, April 7, 1983.